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WE MUST FIND A BASIS FOR PEACE

BY PAUL HOFFMAN

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PAMPHLET No. 268

this pamphlet represents a personal statement by Paul Hoffman on the most important issue of the day — the creation of a peaceful world. Since the very survival of the human race depends on the reduction of current international tensions, the Institute for International Order and the Public Affairs Committee are cooperating in the publication of this statement in order to stimulate public discussion of the issue. Mr. Hoffman's unique career as an industrial executive and an administrator of an international relief program, and his manifold activities in the public welfare give his views unusual significance. It is hoped that it will be possible to publish the views of other similarly distinguished men on this basic issue from time to time.

the public affairs committee

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WE MUST FIND A BASIS FOR PEACE

BY PAUL HOFFMAN

Successively President and Chairman of the Board of the Studebaker Corporation and Chairman of the Board of the Studebaker-Packard Corporation, Paul Hoffman has also served as head of the Economic Recovery Administration, Chairman of the Board of the Committee for Economic Development, and trustee of the Ford Foundation. Portions of this statement have been drawn with permission from an article which previously appeared in LOOK. . . . *The art work is by Alexander Dobkin.*

A DECADE and a half ago we found war a fearful thing. Including the civilian losses from air raids, forced labor, and mass executions, the number of deaths in World War II was in the tens of millions. Yet though this destruction staggers the imagination, it would seem as nothing compared with the holocaust that would devastate the world in the event of a war tomorrow with thermonuclear weapons.

There are in being weapons which can in a few seconds make atomic rubble out of New York, Moscow, London, or Peking, and so poison the atmosphere surrounding these cities that they would be uninhabitable for decades. Many thousands of our great scientists are devoting their creative talents to inventing still deadlier weapons of destruction. Tomorrow both Russia and the United States will have intercontinental missiles capable of dropping H-bombs — with destructive power a thousand times that of the atom bomb dropped at Hiroshima — deep in each other's territory.

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We can take some comfort from the mounting evidence that the Soviet Union does not want war. We certainly do not. But the fact that Russia does not want war and we do not want war is no guarantee that a war might not break out. Unfortunately, the psychology generated by an armaments race is such that some untoward incident might start a chain of events that could plunge us into a war that no one wants.

Under the circumstances we have no choice but to support the stupendous effort that the free world is making to maintain a military stalemate with Russia by balancing terror with terror. It is a distressing but vital necessity in order to deter aggression and to give us time to move toward a real peace. However, the notion that our present stalemate resembles peace or brings us nearer to it is absurd.

the task of achieving peace

Here is a fact that every living person should wrap his mind around: peace, real peace, will not just happen. It must be striven for and waged with boldness, imagination and dedication. Further, the sole responsibility for achieving it does not rest with government officials and international servants. It is a task in which everyone has a part to play.

To this end there are immediate steps which can and should be taken. They are rooted in a rapidly growing awareness that, to quote President Eisenhower, "There is no alternative to peace." War as an instrumentality of foreign policy has long been suspect on ethical grounds. Today, on purely practical grounds, the making of war is indefensible. No nation can emerge victorious from a thermonuclear war. Disaster, utter disaster, would be the common fate of all nations and all people involved — and possibly millions not involved.

The question might well be asked as to why, in view of the senselessness of nuclear war, we have not moved more rapidly toward peace since World War II. It would be an oversimplification to say that any one man or any one nation is entirely respon-

sible for the fact that we have drifted away from peace rather than toward peace since the end of World War II. However, an underlying cause clearly has been the calculated, persistent determination of the leaders of Communist Russia to force their system on other nations even when those nations did not want it. For what has developed in Russia in the past forty years is a novel kind of society, expanding technologically, but governed by a bureaucracy whose basic motive is power. This Russian power bureaucracy is a closed oligarchy of men who seem to distrust everyone — even each other.

the role of the Soviet Union

But it cannot be denied that Russian tactics, if not policies, have changed significantly since the death of Stalin. And with the rise of Khrushchev, the Soviet Union has sought to persuade the uncommitted peoples of the world that Russia, rather than the United States, is the leading proponent of peace.

Khruschev's present goal is clear. He wants to insulate the United States of America. His strategy is equally obvious. He knows that people everywhere yearn for peace. Therefore, he is putting forth a terrific effort to give the impression that Russia is the leading nation in the drive for world peace. He knows that the teeming millions of the underveloped nations are insisting on an improved standard of living. Consequently he presents Communist Russia as the great friend of the underprivileged. Conversely, he presents the United States of America as a power-hungry nation willing to risk war to satisfy its ambition and as a nation indifferent to the aspirations of less fortunate people.

Russia was first to urge a Summit Conference of the big powers; first to propose a concrete plan for disengagement in Europe; and first to ban, however temporarily, the testing of atomic weapons.

It would be pleasant to believe that the Russian leaders have had a change of heart and are now eager to get on with the building of a just and durable peace. We dare not rule out that

possibility, but in view of past disappointments we have a right to be skeptical. There are some who feel that the Russians, intoxicated by their recent scientific and diplomatic successes, are convinced that a general conference, or a series of conferences, will give them an opportunity to appeal over the wall of our diplomacy to our allies and thus shatter the unity of the Atlantic Community.

Yet whatever the Soviet Union's reasons, we dare not give an unqualified "no" to a proposal simply because the Russians advanced it.

the need for fruitful conversations

It is regrettably true that in years of negotiations with the Russians we have been able to achieve only marginal agreements. But if we are to stem the drift to catastrophe and make a real beginning toward a peaceful settlement of outstanding issues, we obviously must find a way to have frequent and more significant conversations with them. Our problem, therefore, is to bring to bear on them — to engineer — new influences that will open the way to the give and take that will make such conversations fruitful. There are already several influences or forces that we can rely on and encourage.

reaching people inside Russia

The first exists inside Russia. The very success of the Soviet Union in mastering a complex industrial system and its haste in training hundreds of thousands of teachers, scientists, engineers, and administrators have created a new class of men in Russia, outside and apart from the political bureaucracy — but dominated by it. These men are our potential allies, whether they realize it or not, because they want what we want too — tranquility to pursue their careers and improve their standard of living. Above all, because they are intelligent, they crave dignity; and since dignity comes only with freedom, a conflict of interest must always exist between them and the power bureaucracy. These new

men in Russia are growing rapidly in number and prestige. Our problem is to get to them and, through them, to their rulers.

As yet this new group is not organized; its members do not even act as a group. Their influence is passive. It stems from their awareness, and that of the party leaders, that they are needed. How quickly, or to what extent, a real class consciousness may develop, no one knows. If the members of this new group should come to understand the full significance of the role they might play, they could exert great pressure for a basic change in policy.

It is up to us, therefore, to try to get through to the minds of Russia's teachers, scientists, and technicians to help them understand America's real purpose, necessities, and meaning. There are many steps which can be taken that will help achieve this. Our women's groups could invite Russian women to visit them and see how they think and work. Our labor unions could invite Russian labor groups to see how our labor operates; our business executive groups could invite members of Russia's new management group to study our American economic system. Our scholarly and engineering groups could invite similar Russian groups to trade meetings.

Much, of course, will depend on our attitude in fostering such exchanges. The Russians are a proud people. They are fully as proud of their institutions as we are of ours. It is imperative, therefore, that the Russians not get the idea that we think that the way we do things is necessarily the only right way to do things, but that we approach them in a genuine spirit of friendliness and equality.

satellites and neutral nations

There are also influences outside Russia that can affect the Soviet leaders. The support of the heads of satellite nations and neutral nations is a matter of deep concern to the members of the power bureaucracy in their endless jockeying for power and prestige at home. Even though we cannot get to the power bureaucrats directly, we can and should try to get to them through the Nehrus, Titos, Maos, and Gomulkas with whom they are in frequent contact.

putting our own house in order

We also have the responsibility of putting our own house in order. We must in public debate, without fear of attack or denunciation, reexamine our areas of disagreement with the U.S.S.R., most of which have persisted for more than a decade. We must judge for ourselves to what extent radically changed conditions have made obsolete some of the old positions in which we have been frozen.

We need, first of all, to rid ourselves of some of our fears. There are some Americans who seem to regard every Soviet advance in science or technology as a defeat for the Western world. True, Russia's scientific advance has made possible the development of the terrible weapons that conceivably could destroy our cities and wreak havoc on our countryside. But having attained that power – and with similar destructive powers resting in our hands – the multiplication of that power means very little. On the other hand, it is through scientific progress that Russia may hope to feed its people more adequately and provide them with more of the good things of life. And with higher living standards should come a relaxation of internal tensions, smoothing the path to a peaceful settlement of external problems.

We also need to have greater faith in our own institutions, our way of life. Over the past ten years, we have shortsightedly behaved as if Communism were the most contagious of ideas, a disease of the mind against which we must quarantine ourselves.

We have experimented with a vast assortment of devices – fingerprinting of visitors, cumbersome security procedures, postal censorship, visa and immigration regulations – that can only be described as fantastic. These are apparently based on the strange notion that our ideals cannot compete with those of Communism.

The truth is, however, that events of recent years have proved freedom to be an infinitely more explosive ideal than Communism. The East Berlin riots of 1953, the Poznan uprising, and the bloody Hungarian revolt of 1956 showed that the ideal of freedom flourishes even in the caverns of Communist dictatorship.

It is against this background of stalemate and hope that we must now shape the strategy by which Russia's leaders can be persuaded to talk seriously about real peace.

the meaning of "live and let live"

There is a further step which we might take to help create a favorable climate of negotiation. We in the United States should determine precisely what we mean by the phrase "live and let

live." Both we and the Russian leaders have expressed acceptance of this idea. But exactly what does it mean to us? What does it mean to the Russians? It certainly has a different meaning to us than it had fifty years ago when we had no compunctions whatever about sending Marines into any Central or South American country where we thought our "interests" were in jeopardy.

In determining our own position we have to answer such questions as: (1) Are we willing not to make a military attack on the Soviet Union or to support any attack by any of our allies? (2) Are we ready to provide support by arms, money, manpower, technology, or any other means, for the violent overthrow of any government in or outside the Communist orbit? (3) Would we favor, on a reciprocal basis, giving to proponents of any political group the right to propagate their faith by non-violent means? (4) Are we prepared to state precisely what we mean by "government of their own choosing?"

Once we have tentatively arrived at a definition of "live and let live" we should, of course, consult with the leaders of other

democratic nations and particularly the neutral nations and get their ideas. Only then should we make a final determination of our precise definition and, on an appropriately dramatic occasion, announce it, requesting at the same time that the Russians offer their own definition.

investing in a peace program

Furthermore, we should not hesitate to spend what is necessary to create a better climate for a peaceful settlement of outstanding world issues. The amount may be considerable, but it will be insignificant as compared with what we are already spending. Our defense effort since World War II — an absolutely indispensable effort — has cost us nearly $500,000,000,000; during the next five years we may be required to spend another $40,000,000,000 annually on defense. Surely we can afford to invest at least $2,000,000,000 annually on a peace program that could make vast arms expenditures unnecessary for all time.

An important part of this might well go for economic aid for underdeveloped countries of the world.

Strictly in our own interests we are justified in giving unstinted support to a substantial program of economic aid because it will, first, strengthen our own economy, and, second, help us achieve our political goals, the most important of which is progress toward peace.

aid for underdeveloped countries

Our own dynamic economy has made us dependent on the outside world for many critical raw materials. Three-fourths of the strategic goods we are stockpiling for military purposes come from underdeveloped areas, including many in Asia. Asia supplies five-sixths of the world's natural rubber and one-half of its tin. Underdeveloped countries sell us substantial quantities of chromium, lead, zinc, copper, and bauxite. We were reminded forcibly by events in the Middle East in the fall of 1957 that the oil belt of the world runs through the underdeveloped areas. As this

economy of ours keeps on advancing, our demand for raw materials will increase by 50 per cent within the next twenty years.

These underdeveloped countries also offer the largest potential consumers' market in the world. They are spending twice as much on our goods as they did at the end of World War II and five times as much as in 1938. As they develop, so will their purchasing power and our exports.

Of the 900,000,000 people living in these underdeveloped areas some 775,000,000 live in the twenty-one nations which have won their independence during or since World War II.

These nations face problems, which although different from the problems our new nation faced in 1787, are every bit as acute and overwhelming. In most of them poverty, illiteracy, and disease, patiently borne and taken more or less for granted, have been the lot of the vast majority of their people for centuries. But today these long-slumbering millions are awake. They are demanding in addition to the freedom they have attained, more food, better health services, and the chance to learn to read and write.

These goals, reasonable as they seem, are difficult of attainment because in practically all of these countries the supply of trained administrators, civil servants, engineers, teachers, and doctors is painfully limited. So is the supply of capital, because income per capita is at so low a level that savings are well nigh impossible. The best estimate of the per capita income of underdeveloped countries is about $100 per year, as compared with $2,200 in the United States. It is possible that some of these new nations, with all their problems, can survive as sovereign, democratic states through their own efforts, but for most of them outside help is essential.

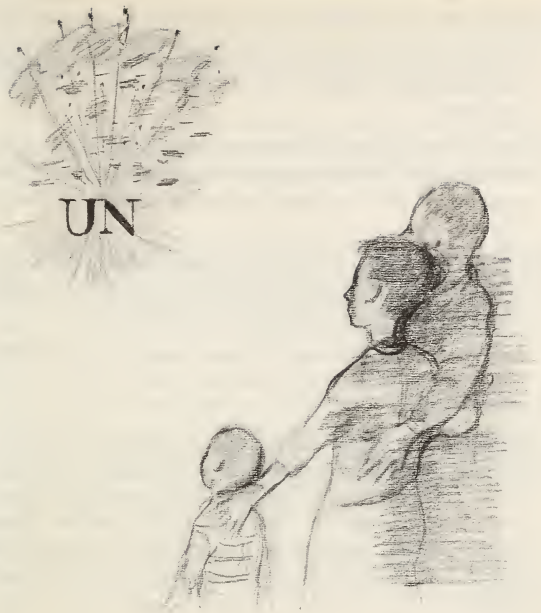
a program for peace

Finally, no stone should be left unturned to develop a strong positive peace program, both as it affects the outside world and our own people. Specifically:

- Our Government must take so clear and vigorous a stand in favor of peace that the whole world will know we threaten no one.
- We should make it as plain as possible that we accept the right of other people to choose their own form of government, no matter how detestable it may seem to us; conversely, that we have no desire to force our ideology or our economic system on any other nation — that we genuinely subscribe to a policy of live and let live.
- Our President should use the United Nations as a forum, to report to the people of the world on what we mean by peace and to challenge the Russians to do the same.
- In the light of the new weapons — ours as well as theirs — we should take a new look at our entrenched military positions and see if any can be yielded without harm to our safety. We should invite the Russians to do likewise.
- We should give our moral support to the program for promoting economic unity in Western Europe, which will help assure its continued prosperity. A Western Europe in which people are not only living happier lives in freedom, but also making a much better living than those in satellite countries, is our best assurance that the people there will continue to resist Russian domination.

interpreting our program

Having clarified our stand, we can then tackle the problem of mobilizing all our communications resources to interpret our program to the neutral nations, to the satellite countries and, finally, to the growing executive groups in China and Russia. Communications between us and the people behind the iron and bamboo curtains should be made as free and easy as possible. For it should be obvious that the more Russians, Chinese and other presently insulated people see America, the better they will understand us.



creating a community of world interest

Our immediate objective is to reach the groups within and without the Soviet Union who can influence their leadership. But we must continue our policy of creating a larger, more closely knit world community.

This requires an unrelenting effort to make the United Nations the sounding board of our ideas; it means that, as far as practicable, we must channel our technical assistance and economic aid through the United Nations; it means we must continue our efforts to break down the barrier between East and West.

Therefore, to spread the contagion of freedom, we should:

- Revise our visa regulations with a view to stimulating rather than restricting contact between the Communist world and our own.
- Offer at least 2,000 scholarships a year in our universities to students from the Communist world and another 2,000 to students of the new non-Communist nations of Asia and Africa.
- Extend the scope of the State Department's Exchange of Persons Program to permit more Soviet leaders and specialists to get first-hand experience of American life.
- Arrange for scientific and cultural congresses to be held in our country with visiting scientists and artists from the Soviet world.
- Meet the hunger for information in the Soviet world by a planned program of publication in the Russian language of books and periodicals that their own censorship prevents them from reading. In 1956, about half a million Russians went to other countries on business and as tourists; they would find these books and periodicals on foreign newsstands.
- Immediately increase the size and scope of the American information program abroad. The entire budget of our USIA informational activities abroad from June, 1957, to July, 1958, was only $95,000,000. By contrast, it is estimated that the last Youth Festival cost the Russians $100,000,000.
- Finance whatever research is necessary to prevent the jamming of our broadcasts beyond the iron curtain.
- Offer the Russians equal time on the Voice of America or Radio Free Europe to answer our questions or try to refute our statements.

But it means more than that, for we wish to create a community of world interest in which all people may join. Any number of new projects serving this end, large or small, come to mind:

- We might help finance ourselves, or invite the Russians to join us in financing, the completion of the new All-India Institute of Medical Sciences, at present delayed for lack of funds.

- We might do something as small and homely as building a hostelry in Jakarta, the capital of Indonesia, simply to offer shelter to the many scholars and scientists of the United Nations who are there to help that nation develop its resources.

- We might do something as technical and germinal as the launching of a series of small international organizations, including the Russians, to work in common on the frontiers of nature and technology — to make a coordinated research attack, for instance, on "incurable" diseases.

- We might do something as broad and diffuse as financing the teaching of English all over the world as a highway for our ideas to travel.

No such set of suggestions as those in this article can pretend to be a blueprint for waging peace. For this, our Government ultimately — sooner better than later — must set up some kind of a Supreme Council of Peace, with the same authority as the Joint Chiefs of Staff, to consider and carry out all the ideas the fertile American imagination can dream up.

In a word, to repeat, *we must pursue peace actively* — with boldness, imagination, and dedication. The alternative is stalemate. And stalemate too long continued — let's face it — means the end of our way of life.

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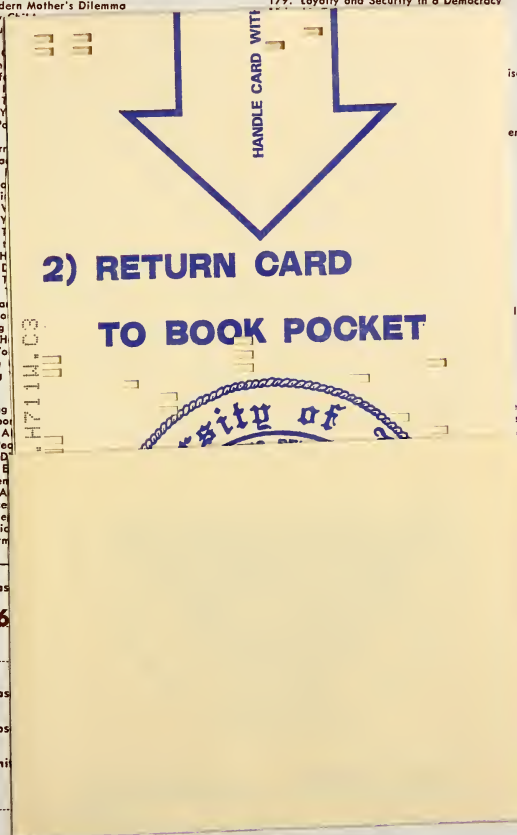

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